1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

362 serious faces showed that, already conscious of their partici-
174 pation in the tribal life, they heeded their uncle's precepts as to conduct befitting boys and men. A fat little girl squatting in the doorway vainly tried to imitate with her stubby fingers and toy implements the graceful movements of her mother as she produced fine threads by the cunning manipulation of her spindle. Lolling on a cushion, a young man
[276] idly smoked a cigarette in a cane holder as he picked thoughtfully at the scarcely healed lobe of his ear, tattered by penitential bloodletting with cactus spine and obsidian blade.

174 A fiesta was going on in another house, and one heard the
527 rich vibration of wooden drums and the high squeal of reed flutes. The patio was full of people, gay in the bright colors of their holiday clothes, and the air was heavy with the cloying scent of lilies. The sharp smells of rich sauces cunningly mixed from many peppers embroidered this odor, and occasionally a light breeze wafted the cool, mystic scent of incense. Somebody was celebrating his birthday, since in the background one saw a painted figure adorned with amate paper, representing the god who presided over that event. A little apart from the feasters, who partook of their entertainment with dignified pleasure, were a group of old men whose clownish gestures and burlesque solemnity could be easily associated with the cups of pulque that a slave was industriously filling for them. Not for nothing had these elders passed through the rigid self-denial of young manhood; they were permitted alcoholic indulgence in their old age whenever a feast came to pass. A last backward glance revealed the musicians, garlanded with flowers, blowing their flutes and conch shells, while one man beat the head of a cylin-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

drical drum and another the wooden tongues in the side of the two-toned *teponaztli.*

Farther up the street the priests seemed to increase in number. More individuals wore the trappings of high office, such as nodding panaches of quetzal plumes and cloaks, the designs of which were worked in feathers like the personal insignia on their circular shields. Evidently the visitor was near the center of the town, and presently the causeway ended in a great open square, where the temples rose above the majestic planes of their pyramidal foundations. In the hard bright light of early afternoon, heat waves joined the smoke of incense in rendering indistinct and unearthly the outlines of the temples.

The short black shadows suggested unspeakable things. Was it imagination or reality, that sickening smell of a filthy butcher shop, that hung in the air in revolting contrast to the immaculate pavement of the temple courtyard? Imagination is too personal and egocentric a sensation for an Indian community, and the great block of the skull rack gave an answer only too firmly founded on fact. Thousands of skulls, threaded on poles, were piled up in orderly symmetry, and the black cavities of their orbits and nasal apertures suggested the marks on infernal dice. Undisturbed by this monument to human sacrifice, a few young men were practicing in a ball court near by. They thrust at a solid rubber ball with agile hips and elbows, in an effort to drive it through two rings set transversely to the walls in the length of the court.

A circular stone placed a short distance away was the scene of a most cruel game. Here, on certain ceremonial days, a tethered captive was forced to defend himself with a wooden club against the onslaught of an adversary whose weapon

643 644 that the ruler and the lords ate; only once a day did they eat.

783 785 And at night, when midnight arrived, the ruler and the lords arose, covered with the fasting capes. And they took up their incense ladles and cotton bags filled with incense, and maguey spines; and they were shod in their foam sandals. And these keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst—they took them above, to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer blood at midnight. And they offered incense; there they cast incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

In the same manner they came down. They went in order. The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst, with their faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. When they had descended, then they went to bathe—the ruler and the lords. Thus did they do penance at night.

For four days they fasted, with faces veiled in fasting capes. And for as many days, at noon, they offered incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. Likewise, for as many nights, at midnight, they offered incense and made blood offerings before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli, and they bathed themselves.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which it is related how they ended the penance, and took the ruler to the courtyard of the palace; and the others they took to their homes.

And after this, when the four days and four nights were ended during which the ruler and lords had fasted and done penance—at that time the ruler came forth, that they might escort him there to the great palace, the ruler's residence. And also at that time the lords entered their homes.

[777] And when this had come to pass, then the ruler chose a propitious day on which the ruler's feast might be observed. He commanded all the majordomos to accord others and give them all capes, and costly devices, and shields.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how
● 527 the ruler made summons to a feast.
648 Then he bade to a feast those from every city. He asked to the banquet the ruler of Michoacan, and the ruler of Cuextlan, and the ruler of Metztitlan, and the lords of the Totonac country, and the lords of Tlaxcala, and the ruler of Cholula, and the lords

Auh iioaltica, in jcoac ioalnepantla oaçic, meoa in tlatoanj, ioan in tecutlatoque, ic ommotlapachoa in neçaoalquachtli: ioan concuj in jntlema ioan icpaxiquipilli in vncan temj copalli, ioan vitztli, ioan conmocactia in jmpoçolcac: auh in ichoantin teupixque papaoaque, quintlacoaantiuj, in qujujca, icpac vitzilopuchtli, injc ommjço iooalnepantla, ioan ontlenamaca oncopaltema, in jxpan vitzilopuchtli.

çan no iuj oaltemo tecpantiuitze, quintlacoaana in teupixque papaoaque, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj in neçaoalquachtli omjcallo, in ooaltemoque, njman ic huj in maltizque, in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque, injc iooaltica tlamaceoaia,

naujlhujtl in moçaoaia ic ixquimjliuhticatca in neçaoalquachtli, auh izquilhujtl in nepãtla tonatiuh, in ontlenamacãia ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no izquioal, in ioalnepantla tlenamacaia, ioan onmjçoa in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, ioan maltiaia.

INIC EY PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujtzonquixtiaia tlamaçeoaliztli, ioan qujujcaia in tlatoanj, in tecpan itoalco: ioã in oc cequintin qujnujcaia in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otzonquiz naujlhujtl, ioan nauhioal, in oonmoçauh, in ontlamaçeuh tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujnjcoac qujça in tlatoanj, injc concaoa in vmpa vei tecpan tlatocan. Auh in tecutlatoque, qujn no icoac calaquj in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njman ic qujpepena in tlatoanj, in qualli tonalli, in jpan motlatocapacaz, qujnnaoatia, in jxqnjchtin calpixque, in jxqujch tilmatli, ioan tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli, ioan chimalli, in qujtetlauhtiz, in qujtemacaz.

INIC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujchioaia tecoanotzaliztli, in ichoatl tlatoanj.

Niman ic tecoanotza, in noujian altepetl ipan, qujcoanotza in mjchoacan tlatoanj, ioan cuextlan tlatoanj, ioan metztitlan tlatoanj, ioan totonacapan tlatoque, ioan tlaxcallan tlatoque, ioan cholollan tlatoanj, ioan uexotzinco tlatoque, ioan tenjtla tla-

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

of Uexotzinco,[8] and the lords of foreign lands, and the lords of Tzapotlan, and the lords of Anauac, and the ruler of Tehuantepec, and all the lords posted on the shores of the oceans, and all the lords of the cities encircling Mexico—the ruler of Tezcoco and the ruler of Tlacopan.

And when all the invited lords had assembled—[both] friendly and unfriendly lords—he provided them food. He gave them drink and food; costly goods he gave them all: capes without price, and valuable breech clouts, and devices, and costly shields. There was dancing; there was a procession; there was singing, night and day, as the ruler provided them solace.

And at that time he also gave gifts to all the noblemen, brave warriors, and lords, and judges, and rulers of the youths, and all the singers, and all the keepers of the gods, fire priests, and [other] priests.

And when the feast ended, then all the bidden guests departed.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler adorned himself when he was to war upon some city.

And then, when some days had passed, the ruler proclaimed war—that they would go to set forth somewhere to war. He gave costly devices and shields to the noblemen and to all the brave warriors and men [at arms]. And the ruler himself went to war. To set forth to battle and to conquer, he took all the warriors, and the lords of all the cities about, that they might set forth to war and conquer. And when they had gone forth to conquer and to wage war, they rejoiced greatly over the number of captives whom they had taken, since they would slay them all before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order with them to observe his feast. And he accorded honor to all the brave warriors and captors; with many things did he favor them. He gave them costly capes, and breech clouts, and long labrets, and head bands; and he gave them titles by which they would be honored and obeyed as men [at arms] and brave warriors.

toque, ioan tzapotlan tlatoque, ioan anaoac tlatoque, ioan tequantepec tlatoanj: ioan in jxquichtin tlatoque, ilhujcaatentli quiztoque, ioan in jxquichtin tlatoque in altepetl ipan, quijiaoalotoque mexico, tetzcuco tlatoanj, ioan tlacopan tlatoanj. 643 527 648

Auh in jcoac ocenquizque in jxquichtin tlacoanotzaltin tlatoque, in jicnihoan tlatoque ioan iiauhoan: njman ic quintlaqualtia, quinmaca in atl, in tlaqualli, tlaçotlanquj, quintlauhtia in jxquich tlaçotilmatli, ioan tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, ioan tlaçotlanquj chimalli, netotilo maceoalo, cujco, ceioal cemjlhujtl, in tepaquilxia tlatoanj,

auh in jcoac no quintlauhtia, in jxquichtin pipiltin, tiacaoā, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan telpuchtlatoque, ioan ixquichtin cujcanjme, ioan ixquichtin tepixque tlenamacaque, tlamacazque: [431]

auh in otzonquiz tecoanotzaliztli, njman ic ompeoa in jxquichtin tlacoanotzalti.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn mocencaoaia, in tlatoanj, injc cana iautiz, altepetl ipan. 643 292

Auh çan njman iquezquijhjioc, iaotlatoa in tlatoanj, injc cana iauquijxoalotiuh, quintlauhtia in tlaujztli tlaçotlanquj ioan chimalli im pipilti, ioan in jxquichtin tiacaboan, oquichti: auh iioma in tlatoanj in iauh iauc, in oniaoquiça, in ontepeoa quijuica in jxquichti iauquizque, ioan in noujian tlatoque altepetl ipan inic oiaoquiça, ontepeoa: auh in jcoac ōtepeoato, oiaoquiçato cenca paquj, in qnexquich malli ocanato, injc mochintin ixpan vitzilopuchtli quinmjctiaia, inic inca ilhuiquiztiaia. Auh in ixquichtin tiacaoan, tlamanjme, quinmaujxiotia, mjiec tlamātli injc quimjcnelia, quintlauhtia in tlaçotilmatli, ioan maxtlatl, ioan teçacatl, ioan tlalpilonj, ioan quintocamaca injc maujztililoxque, injc tlacamachoxque, injc oquichti, tiacaboā. 726 724

8. In ibid., seventeen tlatoque is followed by yoan mixteqpan tlatoque, and rulers of the Mixtec country.

[p. 66 is blank]

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16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

sistance. Another name for the same profession was "man who takes more than he gives" "tiamicqui,"[76] a surname or slur. Lastly they were called "puchtecatl."[77] It is with this title that traders appear, among the ancient Mexicans, as privileged people. But such they became always only under peculiar circumstances. At certain intervals of time a number of men gathered, forming a company for the purpose of visiting the market places of other tribes and exchanging their home products for those of distant regions. Such an enterprise was always a great venture, and required a peculiar organization. The participants were to be numerous enough to resist the assaults of straggling bands, but they should not appear so numerous as to arouse suspicion. They should be well armed, but at the same time anxious to avoid collision. They needed a certain number of carriers, not only for the wares which they took along, but for their supplies, still the number of these carriers could not be too great. Such an expedition was in reality not a private, but a tribal undertaking. Its members not only carried into distant countries the industry of their tribe, but they also had to observe the customs, manners, and resources of the people whom they visited. Clothed with diplomatic attributes, they often were less traders than *spies*. Thus they cautiously felt their way from tribe to tribe, from Indian fair to Indian fair, exchanging their stuff for articles not produced at home, all the while carefully noting what might be important to their own tribe. It was a highly dangerous mission. Frequently they never returned, being waylaid, or treacherously butchered even while enjoying the hospitality of a pueblo in which they had been bartering.

The safe return however of such a party to the pueblo of Mexico was always an important and joyful event. The reception was sometimes, in solemnity of exercises and in barbarous

venden comales," "que venden cestos," "que vende petacas" (Cap. XXIII, p. 56, etc.), "oficial de navajas," "Los que hacen esteras" (Cap. XXIV, p. 99). In general, nearly all the aboriginal manufacturers are mentioned by him also as selling the products of their industry, and vice versa. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 383 and 384, cap. XII).

[76] *Molina* ("*Vocabulario*" Parte Ia, p. 84). "Tianamacac," "tendero," "á vendedor de algo," Parte IIa, p. 127; "nite-tianamictia," "dar o trocar una cosa por otra, o recompensar" (p. 127, II). Exchange and sale appear almost synonymous.

[77] *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 84). From "nite-tiamicaquitia," "mohatrar" (II, p. 112).

[77] *Molina* (I, 84), also (II, 83, 84). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 348, cap. V, pp. 354, 355, cap. X, p. 372, etc.), calls them also: "naoalostomeca," literally "peddlars of the Nahuatl." *Molina* (II, p. 78). The derivation of both words I am unable to give.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

441 pomp, second only to that of the tribal forces returning from a
527 successful campaign or foray. The traders went first to the central place of worship, there to stoop before the idols in token of adoration. From the great "medicine-lodge" the band repaired to the "tecpan," where they met the council of the tribe and its leading officers. Sometimes in presence of a concourse of people, and again if required, in "secret session" the traders communicated, for the benefit of the tribe, any results of their explorations. After this their particular quarters gave them appropriate receptions also, and in some instances even the whole tribe celebrated their return with solemn dances, and a distribution of victuals corresponding to what in our time would be called a popular feast.

439 In order to realize the substantial results of such expeditions
441 we must bear in mind, that whatever they brought back had to
556 be carried by men. As already intimated, the number of these men was limited. They could not, without jeopardizing the object of their mission or enterprise, take large bodies of assistants along. Besides, as these assistants also had to carry their own food, providing for many journeys through uncultivated ("neutral") wastes, this also restricted the amount of material brought home. However precious that material might be to the Mexican tribe, it was certainly limited in quantity. Finally, custom demanded that the most highly priced articles should be offered up to worship, to the stores of the tribe and of the kins. Little material gain therefore, remained to the courageous travellers themselves. The proceeds of their enterprise were largely for the benefit of the community and the reward bestowed upon them by that community rather than the profits derived from any traffic, composed the personal gain of the participants. This reward consisted of presents out of the public stores, and especially in the marks of distinction bestowed upon them.

441 Thus the so-called "merchants" of ancient Mexico became
556 equivalent to distinguished braves, and their deeds entitled them
565 frequently to the rank of chiefs. But if, on one hand, they had no opportunity to secure anything like personal wealth, on the other the rewards of merit did not attach to their offspring. No *class* of traders, no *caste* of merchants, can therefore have existed, and if a certain well-earned consideration attached itself to the person of those who embraced occasionally such a hazardous

For, so was it said, he had fallen into great sin.[5] There rags and tatters lay strung out; there misery and orphanhood were the reward. And there was the great flood, the great crag, the pit, where there was a falling into the flood, or from the crag, or into the pit.[6] And there lay the snare, where one was snared.

So was it said of him to whom it so befell that his fate and merits had been good; only of his own will and by his own act he had harmed, destroyed, and ruined it, etc.

And if a woman were born upon the day One Flower, it was said that she would be an able embroiderer. But nevertheless, in order to gain her deserts, and to achieve skill in embroidering, she should do great penances, and fast, and draw blood when the day sign One Flower set in. But if she did not do penances, if she took not good heed, if her upbringing and training were not good, she herself harmed her day sign.

Likewise it befell her (as was told here) that her labors were in vain; she merited complete poverty and misery. Thus her deserts only came to an end, to naught; they became corruption. She became a harlot, a courtesan. She sold herself; she became a paramour. For it was said that just so was her day sign, One Flower; for it fell two ways. They said it was good and evil.

Also it was said that when One Flower set in, then began, continued, and was always held, a dance, a procession. But only Moctezuma in his own heart knew — [for] no one [else] determined — for how many days he established his dance. Perchance for forty days there would be dancing.

And that it might be known that a dance had been arranged, two poles with flowers were set up; they remained at the palace of the ruler. Thus was made known the day of the flowers: there would be enjoyment of and rejoicing over the day of flowers.

At that time the ruler determined and requested the kinds of song to be intoned — perhaps after the manner of those of Cuextlan;[7] the drunkards of Cuextlan;[8] or of Huexotzinco or Apaluac; or the merchants; or those of Nonoalco, or Coscatlan; or of

ca iuh mjtoa, tlaalavi, tlapetzcavi, ĭtlacacemellecan vncan vilantec in tzotzomatli, in tatapatli, vncā mā-ceoalo in jcnoiotl, in jcnotlacaiotl: auh vncan icac, in vei atoiatl, in vei tepexitl, in tlaxapuchtli, vncā neatoiavilo, netepexivilo, netlaxapuchvilo: ioan vncan manj in tzonoaztli, vncan netzonoaztvilo:

ic mjtoa, in aqujn iuhquj ipan muchioaia, y, qualli ocatca: -in jtonal, in jmâceoal, ça inĕviian, ça onmonevianvi, in oconmjtlacalhuj, in oconmopŏpolhuj, yn oconmotlaçolmjctili. Etc.

Auh intla aca cioatl, ipan tlacatia ce suchitl: mjtoaia, vuellamachchiuhquj iez: auh iece injc vel qui-nopilhujz imâceoal, injc vel quiztaz tlâmachtli, cē-tlamaceoaia, moçaoaia, mjçoia in jquac moquetzaia ce suchitl tonalli: auh intlacamo tlamaceoa, intla-camo vel monotza, intlacamo vellaqapaoalli, vellaz-caltilli mochioa, çan no quiztlaueliaia yn jtonal:

no iuhquj ipan muchioais (in iuh omjto njcan) atle onquiçaia, çan moch icnoiotl, netoliniliztli in quimomaceviac auh injc ça ontlatzontia, ontlatzon-quixtia, ça aujlquizcaiotl, in jnemac mochioa, aavie-njti, maxujltia, monanamaca, motzitzinnamaca: ic mjtoa, ca nel iuhquj itonal in ce suchitl, ca vme vitz quitoa, qualli, ioã âqualli.

No yoan mjtoa, in jquac moquetzaia ce suchitl: vncan oncempeoa, vncan vmmocemana, in muchipa maceoalo, netotilo, çan iee quimati in Motecuçuma yiollotlâma aiac quiioccoia, in quezquilhujtl, quitlaliz ymaceoaliz in aço vmpoalilhujtl manjz mâceoaliztli:

iuh injc necia, ynjc temaceoaliztlalhujloia, vme suchiquavitl oalmoquetzaia, oalmomanaia tepan, tlatocan: yc monextia in suchilhujtl, suchipacca, ne-suchitlamachtilo:

vncā tlatlâlamj, tlanemequj in tlatoanj, in catle cujcatl coneoaz, in anoço cuextecaiotl, tlaoancacues-tecaiotl, vexotzincaiotl, anaoacaiotl, ostomecaiotl, no-nooalcaiotl, coscatecaiotl, tenjcaiotl, tepetlacaiotl, chi-chimecaiotl, metztitlancalcaiotl, otoncujcatl, quata-

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5. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 191*r*: *tlaalavi, tlapetzcavi de tlahtiqui*. See also fol. 210*v*.

6. Cf. also loc. cit. The passage is metaphorical.

7. Probably Huaxteca. See, however, Sahagún (Carlbay ed.), X, 29, 79-82 (cf. Vol. I, p. 9, for reference system, to be used hereafter except in special cases).

8. Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 7, 2.

527 the Tenime;[9] or those of Tepetlan; or the Chichimeca; or those of Metztitlan; or the Otomí warriors
533 or of the Quaquata; or the rabbit songs; or songs with two-toned drums, etc.; or women's songs; or those of the girls with the lock of hair at the side of the head. Or perchance only songs of debauchery, or of bragging; or of the sick, or of the cripples; or of the shorn ones; or of vice, etc.

cujcatl, tochcujcatl, teponaxcujcatl. Etc. çioacujcatl, ixtotzocolcujcatl, auh in axoço çan aujlcujcatl, ixcuecuechcujcatl, cococujcatl, quappitzcujcatl, quatexquijcujcatl, aujlcujcatl. Etc.

So it was said that verily the [day sign of the]
535 flower was in place.

yc mjtoaia ca nel onjcac in xuchitl.

And then the majordomos gathered together all
292 the ruler's dancing array which he requested, and
527 which he might exhibit; whatever he might desire
643 to dance in, in which he would show himself to the people.

Ioan vncā quicenquixtiaia, in cacalpixque in ixquich imàcecallatquj tlatoanj, qujtlanenectia, qujtlàtlatitia, in catle coneleuja, ipan onmjtotia, ipan ontetlatitiz:

527 And then he gave devices to the chieftains, the
643 insignia-bearers, the Otomí, the shorn ones, the com-
431 manding generals, the generals, those who struck, encircled, overtook, hemmed in, and spied on the people.

ioan vncan quintlavizmacaia, in tiacacan, in tetlajecaoa, in otomj, in quaquachicti, in tlatlacatecca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tevitequjnj, in temalacachoanj, in tevitequjnj, in tetzacujianj, in tetlallanvianj:

643 And at that time, in truth, favors were accorded
527 and distributed. He singled out, by means of gifts,
533 all the singers, the singers from the common folk, the song-writers, the composers, the beaters of drums
535 —the ground drums, the two-toned drums; two-toned drum players, those who started the singing,
431 those who led, those who gave the pitch, and those who whistled with their fingers; and the leaders and conductors of the dance, the dancers, those who urged the dancers on, those who distributed them, those with trembling voices, those who made noises like a weasel;[10] the circle dancers, and all who belonged and worked with those mentioned.

yoan vel oncan mocnaviaia, mopixqujxia, tlatemachiaia, netlauhtilitica, in jxquich cujcani, màcecalcujcanj, in cujcatlalianj, in cujcapiqujnj: auh in tlatzotzonquj, in vevetzonquj, teponaço, teponaçoanj cujcaito, cujcaanquj, cujcatlazquj, yoan in mapipitzoanj: auh in teiacanquj, in teiacananj, mjtotianj, motlaqujtoçiánj, tlamoiauhquj, tocacuecuechoanj, tocujlechoanj, tlacocoloanj: moch iehoan intech povia, intech açia, in mjtoa:

262 Before them came their food, the prepared foods:
—tamales with beans forming a sea-shell on top;
527 fruit tamales; tamales of a dough of maize treated with lime; hard tamales with maize grains thrown in; tamal-stones; large tortillas; coarse, white tortillas; rolled tortillas; doubled tortillas, tortilla pies; tortillas shredded, or wrapped about turkey; tamales formed in rolls; tamales of maize; ground-up tamales; crumbled tortillas; folded tortillas; meat with grains of maize.

ixpampa viz, itlaqualtzin, in tlaqualtertli, in quatecujcujlli, xocotamalli, tenextamalli, tetamalli, tlatzincujtl, tamaltetl, vei tlaqualli, quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacuelpacholli, tlaçiocuepalli, tlaxcaleotextli, totolqujmjlli, tamalmjmjlli, tamalatl, tamalcuecuechtli, papaiaxtlaxcalli, papaiantlaxcalpacholli, nacatlaçio.

527 And when they had tired and were wearied of dancing, then they took and burned the two flowered ropes. And then they fashioned and adorned still

Auh in iquac otlatziuh, in ocontlatzilhuj màcecalliztli, njman quicalaqujxia, quitlatiaia, in vnic xuchiquavitl: auh iquac oc centlamàtli, ic quixipdaiotiaia,

9. Cf. ibid., X, 29, 94-95; genre fabliaux was a term generally understood by readers.

10. In describing the sound made by the weasel Sahagún, Book V, chap. vi, reads and says donne pipiolera, tzolquixin onquipiloaoaz, tzonquixin onquipiloaz . . . See also, Olivera, op. cit., p. 237 (translator).

another flowered pole. This they ignited, set fire to, and burned. And so silence reigned and it was still; it remained calm in the city; no one stirred or made a noise. For the flowers had burned; they had been destroyed by fire.

But none the less, in the home of each nobleman and lord there was much singing and rejoicing. Only and alone at the palace was the dancing ended. All the people rejoiced completely.

quichichioia, çan no xuchiquiviti: ichouti tlatlaia, quitlatlaia, quitecaviaia: ic cactimomanaia, cactiuetzi tlamatimocnana in altepetl, aoc ac tlalinja, tlachalanja: ipampa ca omotlati otlatlac in xochitl: 527

xuh tel in cocoiaca ixchan pipilti, tlatoque, vel cuicoia pacoaia, çaniio, çaniocan ic tecpan mocaoaia in mácoxalitli, in mochi tlacati in cempaquja.

[p 28 is blank]

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a noose and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it dawned, and they were already bloated, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

But the merchants,[2] those known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away — the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Injc matlactlomocxe capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel njman amo qualli. 787X

!n jpan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli, ca vncan mjctilloia, quinquechmecanjaia, quinquechtzonviaia, quinmecanjaia, quinpiloa, quincuexcochviviteq̃uj, quinquatepipitcainja, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan iooan in mjctiloia, in oallatvi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan quimonmamaiavi. No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca iehoan inca motcaltiuia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) ipan ce qujauitl in vncan temoa: auh ie no vncan tepopoloua, in omoteneuhque tlatlacateculo, in nanacalti, auh injc imacaxoia, in ipan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecalco noujian caaqujaia, in tlacateculoxocovitztli, quipopotzaqujaia, quicacatztaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic quinpeviaia.

Auh in iehoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acaoteca, in oztomeca, in motlacamati, iẽ quivcimatia, quimaviztiliaia, ca vncan qujtotonjaia, in ixquich tlaçotli qujtlatiaia, in chalchiujtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhq̃uj, in tomatic, in acatic, in ie ixqujch cozcatl, in concapetlatl, in petlaoac, in pitzaoac, xiujtl: auh in jxqujch nepapan ivitl, in quetzalli

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1. *Xonacatl.* — Francisco J. Santamaría: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 354: *jamicia — Brassica pinguifolia L.* "En Méjico, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un matro de alzada y cuya hoja consumen a los de la gleba. . . . propiedad antiescorbútica."

2. Translatable also as "men of Pochtlan," a barrio of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were Tepeyac, Marvillouhtli, Xihuitl, Tlali, Ilin, Tepeyollotl, Cuyollotzhuhuí, Chicome xochitl, Xochiquetzal, Yiacatecutli (Arturo Monzón, *op. cit.*, p. 50). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-24, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the *pochteca*.

3. *Atentlauil ca pochtecatlahtlac*, "mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tanto como si dijeramos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y entre los mercaderes . . . es entiendese el que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es casi padre y maestro de todos los mercaderes" (Sahagún, Garibay ed., X, 16, 5).

Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 240 (citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 88): "*aber chichimekischer Volksnamen in der städtischen des Sees von Mexiko gelegenen Landschaft Chalco.*" Acxotlan was a merchant's barrio in Tenochtitlan; gods were Nuui Ehecatl, Chimoquauitl, Xantetauil, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac, Nacxitl, Chalmecatecutli (Monzón, *loc. cit.*).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 13 and n. 2. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 334, citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 1070: "*Mann aus dem Orte Quauhnac . . . der auf Wanderschaft gekaufte Kleider und Majolikateller zunächst als der auf seiner Reise gekaufte Grossinventurwaren, auch Kaufwaren i. A.*"

5. Ibid., p. 148.

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tomatoes, the cylindrical ones;[6] and all the neck bands, and the matted neck bands; and large and small pieces of turquoise; and all the different kinds of feathers — quetzal tail feathers: the well-pointed ones, the well-curved ones, the wide ones, the long ones, which, they said, indeed extended a fathom. And these were just the tail feathers. And those they called down feathers,[7] the very small ones, the chili-green ones and the crest feathers of the quetzal;[8] and feathers of the red spoonbill[9] [*zoquechol*], which is now called *tlauhquechol;* and the blue cotinga, the amethyst-colored ones,[10] the yellow parrot,[11] the multicolored parrot, the trupial,[12] the red and yellow parrot,[13] the scarlet parrot,[14] the blue parrot,[15] the dove; and aquamarine feathers, etc. And skins of wild animals, and mats of wild animal [skins]; and wooden chocolate-beaters; and gourd stoppers.[16]

Verily, all their goods, which lay strewn [and scattered in the tribal quarter] temples[17] they arranged in order and in rows upon precious capes. They sorted, ordered, and disposed them. Then they offered incense and beheaded quail. Of this it was thus said: "They place things in the sun." And when they had placed them in the sun, and when they had offered incense during the day, later,[18]

in vel iaque in vel vitoliuj, in patlaoac, in viiac, in quilhuja cexciacatl içan moteca: auh in çan totocuitlapiltic, ioan in quilhuja quetzaliacatl, in çan tepitoton, in chilchotic, ioan in tzinjtzcan, in tzoquechol: in axcan mjtoa tlauhquechol, ioan in xiuhtotorl, in aiopal, in tzotli, in totocujcujl, in çaquan, in cochoivitl, in chamolin, in cujtlatzcotli, in coçôtli, in xiuhapalli. Etc. yoan in tequaneoatl, in tequanpetlatl, auh in aquauitl, in atzaccaiotl:

in ie mochi intlatquj in teinìoc, [9 pixauhtoc. yn calpulco] in teucali, tlaçotilmapan quicentècaia, quicuecuentiliaia, quitlatlamantiliaia, quivviupanaia, quitetecpanaia, vncan tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia, iehoatl inic mjtoa: tlatotonja, auh in jquac otlatotonjque, in otlenamacaque, cemjlhuitl, catepan tlatlaqualo, aatlioa, mopixtoque, in pochteca veuetque, nepiclotoc, tlachichinalotoc, tlanecutoc, tlauujaxtoc, puctlecatoc,

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6. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, *cap.* viii, fol. 295: *ioyo tlatlalti, olotic, ocotic xicoic, tomatic, chiquimolca, tlachquimilotli, tlachiquimilli, tlacuxpoalli, tlacotlaxcolchichiltli*, for which the corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Labrosse estas piedras unas redondas y apuntadas, otras largas y rollizas, y apuyadas, otras triangulades, otras cortadas al soga, otras cuadradas.*"

7. Quetzal *xoxe plog*, in Jens, *loc. cit.*

8. *Tzinitzcan.* Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 2 and 4, describes both the crest of the quetzal and a bird of the same name: *Tzquanoxtic tzoncuaz, T. cuchiquaz* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 344). In Sahagún, *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1959), Vol. V, p. 2, it is quetzal tail and down feathers of dark green with metallic sheen; in *ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 137, a bird with black and green feathers.

9. *Tlauhquechol.* In *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 62, white and red spoonbill; Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 63, red heron; p. 124, red spoonbill; p. 137, rose-colored heron. Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 5; *Ajaje ajaje* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 354).

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10. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, XI, 2, 9) mentions an ayoquan found in mountains above Cuernavaca and Michoacan — of painted, black beak and black feathers except those of the tail, which are half-white; another kind of the same name is a waterfowl of yellow beak; feathers at joint of wing are green, long wings and tail feathers are brassy, with white and green; body feathers are red. *Ayauhtic ayauxi* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 324).

In "L'utilisation des oiseaux exotiques et leur art de travailler la parure et de faire des ornements en plumes," Congrès International des Américanistes, *Compte-Rendu* de la Huitième Session Tenue à Paris en 1890 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), note to § 68, Edward Seler translates *ayopul* as *toquat oriflamb*, referring to Molina, *op. cit.*, *chrisul amarillo — ayopalnextli.*

11. Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 33. Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 16; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 210.

12. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 114. *Cuauhtzontlatoque Mexicatzincatl* (Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 372).

13. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 33. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 371: *"cotorrio de leon, del género Chrysotis." Cuchi ce cuchuel* — *"Papagayo rojo y morado." Amaxcana ahhipoac ahhipoac* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 329).

14. *Ibid.*, IX, 1, 2. Cf. also, however, *chamolin* (*chamol*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 461: *"Nombre vulgar que en el Estado de Guerrero, en Mijoe, se da al tabachin o chamolchichil." Chamolchichil.* Asc., *chamoll* (*pamarilo*) — *"tabachin o flor del camarón* (Poinciana pulcherrima)."

15. Cf. Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

16. Corresponding Spanish text: *estopadores de calapagos para escomaer.*

17. An omission in the *Florentine Codex*, to be noted in comparing the passage with the text of the *Real Palacio* MS, placed in brackets, brings the Nahuatl closer to Sahagún's corresponding Spanish.

18. *Campan*: the suffix is missing in the original.

everyone ate and drank. The old merchants lay guarding and watching, smoking, inhaling the fragrance, and taking their pleasure. Smoke drifted upward and was overspread. Food was spread out in abundance; nothing was lacking. Of this it was thus said: the merchants heated things; they placed them in the sun.

And when it grew dark, there was drinking. All of the old merchant men and women assembled. When they became drunk, then they vaunted, boasted, and blustered over their wealth, their achievements, their valor, and especially wheresoever they had set foot; that is to say, wheresoever they had gone to arrive; the things which they had discovered, the manner of their return, their coming back. So they had gone to perform their labors and to circle about the surrounding provinces, to encounter the waste lands, to descend into the gorges — everywhere entering places of danger and drawing into fields of battle. And verily in some places they were besieged and ambushed. Perhaps only one or two escaped the hands of the enemy, coming to leave word with and inform the people that they had first broken and scattered the rampart and enclosure of eagle and ocelot warriors.

So there they made light of, scoffed at, exposed, revealed, shamed, and tortured those who knew no places, who had gone nowhere, who nowhere in any degree had set foot anywhere; who only at the ashes of his fire called himself a warrior[19] and lived prudently[20] and impudently only here in the market place. Only here, the market place, did he frequent, buying, selling, and deceiving. And this was when, because of their suffering, these cast into the fire — or it fell by the wayside — their rearing, because they were troubled and moved by the counsel of their fathers and mothers. So there at the place of congregating there was dispute, discussion, abuse, faultfinding, and belittling. They sat jostling and besmearing one another, disputing and quarreling among themselves, contending, refusing, and bragging. They paid no heed to others' answers; they did not consider others to be superior.[21] They chattered.[22] Likewise, they were often arrogant; each one had his own opinion; they made little of and

puctli mantoc, tlaqualli quiquixtoc, atle monectoc, ichoatl inic mjtoa, ca tlatonaltia, tlatzcoaja, in puchteca.

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Auh in çiooac tlatlacuano, mocecentlalia in puchteca veuetque, in puchteca ilamatque, intla otlaiujntic, vncan quimopopoaltia, quimecoaltia, ic mjxmotlatoque, yn innecujltonol, yn intlaiecoliz, yn jmoqujchtiliz, oc cenca ichoatl: in canjn icac imjcxi, quitoznequj: in canjn acitinemj, in quexqujch ic conmati, in quexqujch imjloch, innecuepal, ic quichiuhtinemj, inic quilacatzotinemj anaoatl, inic ixtlaoatl quinamjctinemj, inic atlauhtli quitemovitinemj, in noviian calactinemj, in ovica, in iaotitlan quiatinemj: auh in nel cana impan oalmoztaqua, quinpoiomjctia, aço ça ce, vme, in temaxitlampa quiça, in quioalcaoa tlatolli, in oaltritoa, ichoan achtopa quipetla, quixitinja, in quauhtenamjtl, quauhtlatzacujlli, ocelotenamjtl, ocelotlatzacujlli,

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ic vncan quiquequeloa, ica maujltia, quitlatlacaquitia, quicocoa, quitotoneoa, quicocolhuja, quichichinachilia yn jiollo, in acan onmati, in acampa ianj in acan quentel, in acan icac icxi, in çan njcam inezitlan mocoquichitoa, çan njcan tlanquiaco in mjmantisenj, tlaxtlapaloxinemj, çan njcan in motitianquja, tlatlanecujloa, tlatlaxiccuj, auh ie vncan in jtoneuhcacopa, motlecomaiavi vevetzteoa, yn intlazcaltilhoan, in jntlaoapaoalhoã, inic vel imjtic oaaçic intecoco, in teitic aaçic intlatol, in jntahoan, yn jnnaoan, inic vncan in necentlaliaia maoa, mononotza, moquequeloa, mopãpatlã, mopapatzaoa, moquexiçatoque, moçoqujmotlatoque, motlatzcuujlitoque, moquãquatoque, mjxquãquatoque, motlatolxopeuhtoque, moichcuochtoque, ãmotenaqujlmatique amo motenpanavillanj, chachalacatoque, no çac in jxmoquixtia: muchi tlacatl cecenteti itlatol, atle ipan quimotztililoque, amo commopovilitoque in jnnecujltonol, yn jiuetlamachtil: huel nononequa mutachcauhneguj, mococentecpoa, cecentecuti, cecenme mo-

19. *Mexpiqui-chtoa* in the *Real Palacio* MS. *Mexica* values is unsure.
20. *Mimatinemi* in *loc. cit.*
21. Possibly *cenmotequilitoque* and *amo cenmopanvillanj* are intended.
22. *Chachalacatoque* in the *Real Palacio* MS.

441 held in no esteem the riches and prosperity of others.
●527 Indeed, each one alone wished to be best; each one
554 thought himself a lord, a superior person; each one
521 thought of himself as the only one, the best. Each spoke for himself; none would talk to them or say a word in their behalf, unless he were a vanguard merchant, one who knew distant lands; unless he were very rich, dealt in goods in his house, or were a buyer of slaves,[21] a ceremonial bather of captives to be sacrificed; unless in his house were carrying frames stuffed and creaking; unless in his house one drank from black jars, gourd vessels, etc.

This was because each one of the merchants himself placed things in the sun at his own house on the day sign Four Wind.

mati, mocecocamati, nononqua motlatalhuja, aiac vel inoan tlatoa, aiac vel inpal onmocencamavia: intlacamo cutonecatl, intlacamo veca matinj: ioan intlacamo cenca mocujtonoa, intlacamo ontlaaaquj ichan, intlacamo tecouanj, intlacamo tealtianj, intlacamo cácatzcatoc, nánatzcatoc ichan cacaxtli: intlacamo poctecontica, aiotectica atlios ichan et.ª.

Ipampa injc ceceniaca tlatonaltiaia, puchteca in jn cacalitic: in jpan jn tonalli nauecatl.

21. Or "one who summoned guests."